National Conference on Community Policing

What Works: Research & Practice

Sponsored by

The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services
and
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Conference Summary

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Contents

From November 8 to 10, 1998, at the Crystal Gateway Marriott Hotel in Arlington, Virginia, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the National Institute of Justice held the National Conference on Community Policing, titled "What Works: Research & Practice." Some 750 participants from a variety of fields gathered to present findings and discuss today's trends in community policing.

This report presents a synopsis of speeches given in plenary sessions and provides a topically organized extract of themes that emerged in the more than 40 concurrent sessions.

Welcome and Opening Remarks

Joseph E. Brann, director of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice, observed that the broad representation of disciplines at the conference reflected a widespread interest in community policing. Present, he noted, were members of the research community, law enforcement, local government, community organizations, and other fields.

This is a critical time in the institutionalization of community policing, **Mr. Brann** noted. Whereas not long ago only a few dozen agencies were engaged in community policing, now thousands practice it. Further, the results of early research efforts are starting to roll in, and local law enforcement agencies are increasingly relying on those results to guide them in their strategic responses.

Mr. Brann said the purpose of the COPS office is not simply to place more police on the street—it is to encourage community policing, which he believes is the largest contributor to declining crime rates. He also asked participants not to be afraid to discuss the failings of community policing, the obstacles to implementing it, and good and bad experiences.

Jeremy Travis, director of the National Institute of Justice, said he found it gratifying to see the role of the research community in developing new approaches to crime and justice, especially in redefining the role of police in society.

The foundation for this conference was laid four years ago, **Mr. Travis** said, when he and **Mr. Brann** spoke about fostering a closer working relationship between researchers and law enforcement practitioners. They agreed that they both had benefited from law enforcement research, such as the Police Foundation's Kansas City patrol study. For that reason, their agencies have challenged the law enforcement and research communities to design research to examine such issues as problem solving; organizational transformation to community policing; and solutions to gun violence, burglary, and corruption.

Mr. Travis said he looks forward to independent nationwide evaluations of community policing and to research on the impact of Crime Act funding on communities around the country.

Opening Session

Community Policing: A View from the Field

Moderator: Francis X. Hartmann, Executive Director, Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dr. Hartmann observed that although the civil service system in policing is now taken for granted, implementing it was a struggle that took some three to six decades. The transition to community policing may take time, but a person should feel successful if he or she can move the process forward even a little. **Dr. Hartmann** then asked panelists for opening comments on the state of community policing.

Susan Herman, executive director of the National Center for Victims of Crime, said she would like to see police partner more with community members, spend less time taking over other functions of government, and help victims regain a sense of safety. **Hubert Williams**, president of the Police Foundation, said he would like community policing to encompass all the elements of policing and become an articulate philosophy. **Barry Webb**, head of the policing group in the Research, Development, and Statistics Directorate of Britain's Home Office, pointed out that his nation wants police officers to think more about solving problems, yet most cops joined the force to capture villains. The solution, he said, is to hire officers who *want* to solve problems. **George Kelling** observed that the idea of police as people who go out and arrest perpetrators and place them into the criminal justice system is dead. Now police are tasked with doing much more prevention.

Dr. Hartmann invited each panelist to make a longer statement. **Ms. Herman** saw great strides in problem solving but not in partnering. Many disciplines—schools, doctors, managers of low-income housing, and code enforcement agencies—now realize they can play a role in safer communities. Instead of a public-safety vision that places police in the center of a wheel whose spokes are hospitals, schools, and other agencies, a new paradigm could show safety in the middle of the wheel, with all resources (including police) as spokes. Police need not always be the leaders, and when they are, they should only lead, not perform all the actual work (such as cleaning up dirty lots or teaching drug abstinence in schools). One job they should do is to work with victims to help them feel safe again.

Melinda Haag, special assistant U.S. Attorney, Southern District of Indiana, said community policing has forced other players in the criminal justice system to follow the police out into the community. Community policing has changed prosecutors' sewage treatment vision of justice, where the goal was to flush cases through the system. It has also drawn prosecutors' attention away from the big crimes and toward misdemeanors. **Chief Jerry Sanders** of the San Diego Police Department said his agency's version of community policing uses volunteers so that officers have more time to do the things only they can do. Also, because a study found that it mattered very little whether the agency

investigated only cases with a named suspect or all cases, he hopes to downplay the agency's case focus and use of reactive investigations and instead emphasize prevention.

Mr. Williams pointed out that revolutions take time and called for an effort to develop measures of community policing's success. Even the design of stationhouses should be examined, he said. As for implementation of community policing, one challenge is that, as a Police Foundation study showed, young officers tend to rank the community as less important the longer they stay on the force. That is a result of ingrained police culture. Another issue for the future is that as community policing is implemented more fully, not every cop may be suited to do it.

Darrel W. Stephens, city administrator for St. Petersburg, Florida, said that although most police departments claim they are practicing community policing, that has not actually become the dominant strategy of policing. Agencies have not yet reached the point where 60 to 70 percent of officers believe working with the community is the best way to prevent crime and reduce fear.

Mr. Webb said British police have been involved in partnerships for years. They participate in tailoring solutions to local problems, but those solutions do not have to involve the police. Sadly, the effectiveness of the partnerships is patchy, and the solutions they devise are not always applied intelligently. The pressure to do certain things sometimes exceeds the knowledge of whether they are effective. New legislation requires police to consult the public, develop a structure to do what they want, and track results.

Dr. Kelling observed that by the late 1980s, the criminal justice system was investigating, arresting, prosecuting, and jailing people well, but crime was getting worse and worse. However, the new paradigm says the main responsibility of police, prosecutors, and the rest of the criminal justice system is crime prevention. Agencies can prevent crime through (1) involved presence in neighborhoods; (2) order maintenance, which reduces the threshold of disorder and reduces fear of crime; (3) problem solving; (4) focused deterrence on particular places, persons, and problems; and (5) traditional policing. **Dr. Kelling** also pointed to the increased use of nuisance initiatives and similar means of combating crime. Part of their appeal is to evade the niceties of criminal law, so he called on participants to examine the implications of those approaches.

The single most important step toward changing the police culture, **Dr. Kelling** said, would be to sell the cars—not all, but some. In addition, those who discuss policing should speak accurately about what is happening. They should stop saying that crime is dropping and start saying that *people* are committing fewer crimes.

Dr. Hartmann asked panelists what they would have police officers do differently. **Ms. Haag** said every recruit should spend a day each with a prosecutor, a parole officer, a probation officer, a housing code inspector, and a fire code inspector. Police need to know who the other resources are and how they work. **Dr. Kelling** said he worries about police authority becoming more intrusive into civil society, but he also recognized that

working on a personal level with citizens gives some officers a wonderful feeling for the community.

In response to an audience question, **Mr. Stephens** said that implementing community government would require municipalities to undergo some cultural changes. For example, he asked, why are firefighters and emergency medical services not examining repeat calls? Although police do not have to take the lead in community government, **Mr. Webb** said, they tend to have more information than other agencies and are usually proud of being "can-do" organizations.

An audience member asked for a practical strategy for freeing officers from their enslavement to the radio. **Mr. Williams** suggested reorganizing the department to use more non-sworn personnel and taking care not to use officers to perform clerical functions. **Chief Sanders** advised getting away from community policing specialists—all officers should be practicing community policing. **Dr. Kelling** remarked that rapid response is not a God-given police tactic. Police departments should disabuse citizens of the notion that rapid response actually does them any good. It does not save their lives, and in fact it tends to keep citizens from taking their own action or getting help from fellow citizens.

Dr. Hartmann said some people find that fear paralyzes them, while others find that it energizes them. In the implementation of community policing lies much confusion, and like fear it must be taken for granted as part of the business. It is impossible to get rid of confusion without going back to the old style of policing. Further, institutions inherently resist change. The answer is to accept the fear, resistance, and confusion and let them energize the leaders of policing.

Keynote Presentation

Community Policing—Chicago Style

Wesley G. Skogan, Professor, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Research shows that neighborhood-oriented or community policing can work. It reduces crime, fear, and estrangement between police and the people. However, the great difficulty is implementation. Hurdles include these four R's:

- *Rejection.* Community policing is not what some officers signed up to do originally; it requires more civilian involvement than some cops like; and some have a feeling that community policing will go away with the next city administration.

- *Revolt.* Some mid-level managers are threatened by the necessary changes (such as rank flattening) to management structure. The changes may hurt their career opportunities and be against their way of thinking (because of the messy organizational chart and decentralized command). Further, pushing personal responsibility downward takes power away from managers.

- *Resistance.* Special units, including detectives, may see information sharing, a geographic focus, and low-rank responsibility as antithetical to their special status.

- *Renunciation.* Sometimes, an ambitious new mayor, city executive, or police chief may want to replace community policing with a program of his or her own.

To overcome those hurdles, city leaders need to show consistent leadership and vision, not make cops guess what the master plan is. Further, agencies need to change the nature of police work, not just tack community policing onto business as usual. When community policing relies on overtime or special units, it seems like an add-on, and possibly a temporary one. Also, when someone else (like the federal government) is paying for the community policing effort, it seems like someone else's program, not the central work of the department.

Community policing inevitably leads to an expansion of the police mandate. When police are notified about neighborhood problems, even if they are not police problems, police still have to help deal with those problems.

Community policing asks officers to think outside the box—to use city ordinances to solve problems, to mediate disputes, and to customize their responses. That approach is new to police, and they need training. In Chicago, even after repeated rounds of training, it was found that officers and mid-level managers were only dimly aware of problem-solving techniques.

Departments also need to change their performance measures. Agencies count arrests, quick response, etc., but not attending community meetings or taking other preventive measures. It is hard to measure what matters.

A big factor in community policing is, of course, the community. Unfortunately, some of the areas that most need police services are places with the least infrastructure and fewest organizations to sustain community involvement. In Chicago, almost nobody who comes to a community-police meeting, who does not represent an organization, ever follows through.

Collective efficacy is the sum of social cohesion (whether neighbors know each other) and of individual initiatives to step forward to exert informal social control—by, for example, telling kids to stop painting graffiti or bothering an elderly person. Chicago is now studying how to implant collective efficacy. The city has hired experienced community organizers to help organize block clubs and build a problem-solving structure that can exert informal social control.

Researchers in policing may want to depart from the role of white-coated scientists keeping a distance from their subjects and producing findings years after the fact. In Chicago, researchers produce "best practices memos" that say what works and why it works.

Luncheon Speech

Associate Attorney General Raymond C. Fisher, U.S. Department of Justice

At the Justice Department, we have seen how committed President Clinton, Vice President Gore, and Attorney General Reno are to community policing.

Rank-and-file officers are the ones who ultimately have to carry community policing to the community. The high ranks need to support them, but officers carry the job out. So it is important to keep in mind that the street cops must be brought on board.

A few years back, I feared that community policing was a fad, but not now. I want to thank all of you for your devotion to community policing, your coalition building, your courage to transform organizations, and your research and evaluation (helping us devise strategies that are truly informed). Instead of just reacting to problems, we can anticipate them and respond intelligently. It is very valuable to learn, through research and evaluation, what works and what does not if we are to continue to improve community policing.

How can we integrate research findings with police departments' real-world experience? The answer is problem-solving, a process that is guided by data, intelligence, and tailored action. With good crime maps, officers can develop effective responses to neighborhood problems. At the National Institute of Justice, we have set up a computer crime mapping center, and Vice President Gore recently set up a Crime Mapping and Data-Driven Task Force, which recently held an expert roundtable of law enforcement leaders, city and county managers, and others to discuss how crime mapping is helping to solve many types of problems.

Also, our Strategic Approaches to Community Safety initiative is designed to increase the capacity of U.S. Attorneys to work with both criminal justice agencies and research agencies. The goal is to design targeted strategies and interventions to reduce crime. We started the program with the knowledge that many U.S. Attorneys are good at reacting to crime but not so good at strategic crime prevention. We have learned that addressing crime is not just a matter of looking at UCR data; it is better to gather information from many sources (different jurisdictions' data, interviews with cops on the street, etc.)

Our challenge is to make sure community policing is institutionalized and will last for the long term. That will take education, translation of research into practice and policy, information dissemination, training and technical assistance, and the changing of organizations. Together we can continue to make sure crime and disorder continue to decline.

Closing Keynote Speech

Edward A. Flynn, Chief of Police, Arlington County Police Department, Arlington, Virginia

From a practitioner's point of view, what has this conference taught us, and where should community policing go in the future?

To back up, five years ago I was the new chief in Chelsea, Massachusetts, which was in state-imposed receivership as the result of a corruption scandal and bankruptcy. I came here, to Arlington, for a conference on how community policing could improve the quality of life in distressed cities. How does now compare to then? At that conference, Herman Goldstein said the community policing movement seemed to be in the ascendancy, yet he was concerned that the term was being used too loosely, without any quality control. Any placement of cops on bikes or in schools was passed off as community policing. There was also the danger, he said, of oversimplifying the term. Further, community policing was definitely going to expand the police mandate, creating an "avalanche of new business." Thus it would be important to correct public expectations. Finally, the greatest impediment to community policing was the police subculture. For community policing to work, police departments would have to be restructured.

At this conference, **Susan Herman** pointed out that maybe police should not be in the center of the circle for public safety, not always at the head of the table, doing other people's jobs. **George Kelling** said he saw a shift in the police culture and found it harder to shock officers when talking about the types of work they should do. **Frank Hartmann** gave us encouragement, noting that confusion and fear should be expected in the change process, and that we should try to be motivated, not incapacitated, by them. **Wes Skogan** noted that communities with the weakest infrastructure are also those with the greatest crime problems.

The workshops have encouraged us to create a culture that affirms community policing and to bring the community into greater partnership. However, they have also shown us that special "community policing officers" tend not to interact with the segments of the citizenry that cause the most trouble.

Much of the research dovetails with our own experiences, but sometimes our optimism needs to be tempered. The turnout and enthusiasm here are great, but let us remember the self-selection involved in who comes to these conferences. There are still people who are just waiting for this movement to pass away. So let us hope that in the long term we can remove the prefix from "community policing," and it will just be called "policing"—it will simply be how policing is done.

Policing has changed not because of a popular mandate but because a generation recruited into policing could not bear the thought of spending 20 years living the depression, divorce, suicide, and cynicism of "professional" policing. Our challenge is to institutionalize community policing, making it a vehicle for moving our country safely to a multicul-

tural society. In our most devastated communities, we can help develop local leadership and build a functioning infrastructure. Further, we can lead the way to good government.

If the police mission is to develop safe and secure communities, some implications follow:

- Most of American policing has little control over its training. Most agencies use regional training academies, most of which offer little training in problem solving and community policing. For management training, we send people to the FBI National Academy, and we have no control over what it teaches. Where is its community policing curriculum?

- The research agenda needs to be evaluated. Researchers should take a fresh look, not rely on the old literature. In basic research, let us learn how to measure what we now know matters, such as disorder. We also need good measures of citizen satisfaction with police service.

- We need to develop useful methods of call diversion so that we stop pulling officers away from problem-solving activities.

- We need leadership from local police agencies. However, the "great man" or "great woman" theory of policing—that all community policing vigor comes from the chief—is wrong. Community policing will work only when all the officers are converted.

Strong unions represent extraordinary impediments to implementing new strategic visions. All across the country, one finds officers brave enough to stand up to their chiefs, but where are those with the courage to stand up to their peers? The challenge of implementing community policing will be won ultimately by officers who are brave enough to stand up for it.

Finally, we have no greater strength than the skills and ideas of our officers. Stephen Ambrose's book *Citizen Soldier* tells how U.S. forces in the Second World War prevailed through terrible suffering not due to great equipment but because of great leadership from very young officers. Those soldiers are the parents of today's police executives. It is our privilege to lead those soldiers' grandchildren. To the future, let us bequeath departments that can use community policing strategies and communities that can support them.

Closing Remarks

Mr. Travis remarked on changes in the criminal justice research profession as noted by **Dr. Skogan**. The professional, detached model of research is, in some instances, giving way to a model that provides strategic feedback and constructive engagement. **Mr. Travis** described a project performed by David Kennedy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, in which the researcher was tasked not merely with measuring youth vio-

lence in Boston but also with helping to bring it down. Thus, research can be part of the solution. Police can do their jobs well, but they have to know which are the best jobs to do.

Community policing also needs better measurement tools. Up to now, Uniform Crime Reports and computer-aided dispatch have driven the way policing is performed and measured. However, under community policing, agencies need to find ways to measure fear and disorder and find out where drug markets are and where guns come from. In effect, the research profession is involved in the same sort of reevaluation of its core business that police profession is.

Mr. Brann described **Chief Flynn** as the law enforcement community's equivalent of researcher Mark Moore. **Mr. Brann** added that **Chief Flynn**'s speech showed how much policing has changed over the last 25 years. Police are approaching crime and quality-of-life issues with new insights and new tools, and great results are being obtained. But although police have a strong bias for action, they must be patient and view the community policing transformation as a marathon. It would be better to cross the finish line still breathing—and able to run farther if necessary—than not to finish because of exhaustion. Further, police should take care not to be the only runners in the marathon. They should think of themselves as coaches and mentors, not as star athletes. In this marathon, police have a responsibility not to do more, just to do better.

Summary of Panel Themes

Over the two-and-a-half-day conference, more than 40 sessions presented the findings of a broad range of criminal justice research. The major themes are presented below. Most had to do with the implementation, acceptance, and organizational effects of community policing.

Community Policing's State of Development and Implementation

- Almost all chiefs and sheriffs think community policing is a good idea, but only half can describe it.

- Community policing seems to be implemented in a four-stage process: awareness/discovery; exploratory/experimental; commitment/understanding; and proficiency/renewal. Few agencies appear to be wholly at stage four.

- In 1993, only 23 percent of police agencies had implemented community policing, compared to 54 percent now.

Police Culture

- In most agencies, the traditional police culture still predominates. One study found that officers were willing to work with the community but felt there was not enough staffing, too little time was available for problem solving, they could not

complete projects, they received insufficient training on community policing and problem solving, and the rewards for undertaking problem solving were unclear.

- If community policing is to become permanent, police departments must build organizational cultures consistent with its tenets and practices.

Departmental Resources and Organization

- Most police executives believe that in the long run, implementing community policing will require more police resources—probably a permanent 20 percent increase in force strength.

- Partial implementation of community policing is often awkward. In a city that created a special community policing unit, officers in it were resented. In a city that placed special community policing officers in unmodified patrol assignments, the officers did not have enough time to do community policing work.

- Deployment of community policing specialist officers seems not to have been perfected yet. One study found that patrol generalists spend more time on citizen contacts (two hours per shift) than do community policing specialists (88 minutes per shift). Community policing specialists averaged more time collecting information and working on problems, but they also spent more time on administrative tasks and personal business. Also, community policing specialists, with more control over their work schedules, tended to work only standard business hours.

- Regarding investigation, one study found that community policing had led 15 percent of agencies to make major changes in investigation, 20 percent to make some changes, and 24 percent to start planning for change. Those that had made major changes gave detectives geographic responsibility, changed case prioritization, allowed detectives to select cases, made greater use of civilians and volunteers, increased interagency linkages, and made innovative use of technology and crime analysis.

Personnel Issues

Hiring and Retention

- Community policing may not be for everyone. Officers who lack diplomacy and certain other skills may not be suited for it.

- Policing has long been known to strain marriages. A study of one-officer couples found them reluctant to use counseling services available through the department and disinclined to socialize with others in the department. In another study, 9 percent of officers said they were physically abusive to their wives or girlfriends.

Training

- Incorporating community policing themes throughout academy training has been shown to result in significantly higher understanding of some community policing issues among recruits. Another study showed, however, that a recruit's attitude on entering the academy is the best predictor of his or her attitude on completion of probation. Hence, an integrated community policing curriculum approach may produce only minor changes in knowledge and beliefs about community policing.

Supervision

- As community policing pushes responsibility downwards, sergeants' importance may grow. One study suggested that the best sergeants have a high level of integrity, job knowledge, management skills, communication skills, interpersonal skills, ability to develop new officers, problem-solving and critical thinking skills, effectiveness as both disciplinarians and role models, and proactive inclination. The best sergeants tend not to be favorites of high-ranking officers or close friends with the lower ranks.

Evaluation

- Less than half of departments that claim to have implemented community policing use employee evaluation measures that recognize problem-solving skills and activities.

Community Policing Practices

Information

- Crime mapping, which supports the geographic focus inherent in community policing, is performed in only 13 percent of agencies. Startup is difficult: knowing what to buy, finding the money, learning how to use the hardware and software, and connecting the existing data systems for geocoding. Even after a year, departments generally are not able to use computer mapping in the field, and even departments with the best hardware and software are dissatisfied. One newer technology under discussion is orthophotographic representation and analysis, which is based on aerial photography and allows users a 360-degree ground-level view of a particular location.

- Community policing asks police departments to make greater use of data. Common sources are incident reports, calls for service, resident surveys, environmental surveys, officer perceptions, arrest reports, offender interviews, victim interviews, and business surveys. Other sources include insurance records, partners, hospitals, the media, and consultants. Community meetings seem not to be the best means for gathering community information.

- When it comes to learning about promising community policing approaches, police prefer daily interaction and informal communication. They find least helpful "typical academic exchanges," such as extensive reports and detailed research findings. When deciding whom to contact for information, police tend to contact agencies that have similar problems and good reputations rather than agencies at which they know someone.

Problem Solving and Prevention

- Problem solving is the most common community policing activity.

- One highly effective practice is to let crime-involved youth know they are being watched and to make sure they know what is and is not tolerated.

- Closely studying a type of crime can suggest preventive measures. For example, research found that residential burglaries tend to be clustered geographically and tend to recur at the same addresses. Thus, police may be able to reduce the number of burglaries most efficiently by helping victims avoid being victimized again.

- The incivility or "broken windows" theory that accompanies community policing is not just theory but in fact a measurable, though modest, factor contributing to increases in poverty and neighborhood vacancy rates.

- One study showed that order maintenance (directing a suspect's behavior without making an arrest) is performed with equal frequency by community policing specialist officers and generalist officers in most instances. However, community policing officers are more likely than generalist officers to perform order maintenance when the suspect is intoxicated and when bystanders are present.

Partnerships

- Researchers can be useful partners, helping police agencies solve specific problems. In one instance, university researchers analyzed data and identified eight roads along which most gun crimes occurred in a certain county. Police focused their efforts there. In a six-month period, traffic stops rose 352 percent and gun crimes dropped 48 percent.

- Partnerships between police departments and research institutions work best when staff on both sides stay in place for long periods.

- One study found that as the number of calls to a police department decreased, the number of calls to other city departments increased. That finding reinforces the importance of linkages between police and other city agencies.

- When police-citizen interaction is low, the reasons tend to be a lack of officer training in community policing, community policing officers' dual role (perform-

ing problem-solving activities and also making arrests), and being pulled away from neighborhood work to assist other units.

- True community partnerships, with shared power and shared decision making, are rare, but some jurisdictions are laying the groundwork.

Community View of Community Policing

- Citizens who report seeing officers on patrol regularly tend to have the most positive view of police job performance. People who interact with officers in community meetings have higher opinions of the police than do people who have no such contacts.

- Positive contacts with officers give citizens a favorable impression and willingness to cooperate with the department. Interestingly, one study found that citizens were more likely to support community policing if it was not called by that name. One study suggested that citizens were more willing to tell police about drug or gang offenses after community policing had been implemented.

- One study found that neighborhoods have very different opinions about how they would like the police to interact with them. Therefore, police might do well to find out more about each neighborhood's preferences, cultures, and needs.

- From 1993 to 1997, press coverage of community policing was very positive. In 87 percent of articles, no disagreement with the community policing approach was observed.

Impacts

Crime and Fear

- In Boston, fear of crime has decreased significantly, probably due in part to interaction between police and citizens. However, in Los Angeles, researchers found no relation between community policing contacts and fear of crime.

- Eighty-five percent of police executives believe community policing is a highly effective means of providing police services.

- In combating youth firearms violence, increased arrests can have a positive short-term effect on gun crimes. At first, one less gun crime may occur for every five arrests made. But within two weeks, the flow of guns resumes, and within six weeks the effect may be lost unless the same level of enforcement is sustained.

Measurement Specific to Community Policing

- Departments need to find new, more meaningful ways to measure the impact of community policing. Counting answered calls for service or arrests made does not measure community policing activity or impact very well. To examine the impact of community policing, departments can do the following: disaggregate crime measurements, taking them to the lowest level (neighborhood, if possible); obtain different types of data from incident reports; conduct citizen surveys to gauge satisfaction levels, identify community concerns, and uncover crime hot spots; and make follow-up calls to crime victims.